1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)

tion to the Klallam situation and perhaps the payments made in such cases by Chinook. Marriage occurred in or out of the tribe, but with no near relative, which includes fourth cousins.[814] Caste stratification was as strong among the Quinault as among their northern neighbors, and marriages had to be contracted with persons of equivalent status. This brought it about that tribal or at least village exogamy was insisted on for chiefs. The sentiment was nearly as strong for commoners as well, although in their case emphasis was on the fact that all co-villagers, or nearly all, were related; marriage of relatives of even remote degree being forbidden. Not only might a man normally not marry in his own village, but for the same reason he could not ordinarily marry in that from which his mother came. The upper class always purchased wives from other noble families; to marry below one's rank was disgraceful in the highest degree. If a common man wanted to marry a chief's daughter, the chief would pay someone to kill him. In contrast to the Klallam desire in extra-tribal marriages, the Quinault had no preference for northern tribes. All marriages, of whatever rank, were made by purchase, that is by the exchange of gifts of high value. Elopements were common, yet this was theft and therefore dangerous, for the girl's father might kill the man, whose relatives could not retaliate. The bride who eloped must be paid for, in fact the price then demanded was inclined to be exorbitant. Legitimatizing of marriage was Quinault theory at least, yet illegitimate children were many and not looked on with contempt.[815]

171* 583 171* 565 582 [583] 171* 583 [848]

Purchase of the same order appears among the Puget Sound tribes, at least for the wealthy, that is the upper classes. The interchange of gifts was not compulsory, so that poor people married on agreement alone or deferred payment until they were able. The general impression obtained from the account of these people (Nisqually, Snohomish, Snuqualmi, Skokomish, and Suquamish) is that class distinctions did not cut so deep as on Vancouver island and coastal Washington. Differences of wealth were not so great, hence, comparatively, wealth and its function in marriage were not emphasized to the same degree. The exogamic habit is present however but apparently confined rather to the upper class. Even fourth and fifth cousins could not marry.[816] The Nisqually maintain that tribal exogamy held for all; one who broke the rule was not only disgraced

171* 565 583 171*

[814] Swan, Indians of Cape Flattery, 11 ff.

[815] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925, 1926.

[816] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 34–38; Spier, Nisqually field notes, 1922.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
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*171 583 Poorer men offer the bride price directly, or may serve their parents-in-law in lieu of payment.[329]

[582] [554] [114] Purchase appears again among the Sinkyone, and perhaps prevailed in the intervening region. By no means so wealthy as their northern neighbors, values were correspondingly less. Nevertheless we observe something of the Yurok attitude in a definite value attached to a man's life. A wife was seemingly paid for, although Kroeber suggests that this may have been in the nature of a gift to be reciprocated rather than a formal purchase price. If this is so, it suggests only the practice of the generality of more southerly Californians. [848] But inasmuch as illegitimate children were paid for, the suggestion is rather of an approximation to the northwestern norm. Something of the same regularity of purchase, with reciprocal giving, is implied by Yuki statements.[330]

*171 554 The Huchnom and Pomo attitude toward marriage did not differ appreciably from more southerly Californians. The exchange of marriage gifts can hardly be described as true purchase, but appears rather "an expression of good will and dignified but affectionate etiquette." Loeb observes, however, that the man's family gave more than it received in return. It would therefore not be possible to see in it certain affiliation with northwestern customs, were it not that both people prescribed a series of gift-bearing visits of the northwestern type to consummate the marriage. I shall subsequently trace such formal visiting from the Kwakiutl southward to this point. As to exogamy, there was none; marriages were contracted indifferently within the community, outside it, or with foreigners. In neither group were there serious rankings based on wealth which might prescribe a studied attitude toward maintaining it in marriage.[331]

The typical central Californians (Wintun, Miwok, Yokuts, and Costanoan) register negative to the characteristics of northwest marriage. Social stratification of any range and rigidity was absent, wealth unimportant, marriage gifts were presents of friendship however much formality demanded their bestowal, formal visiting seemingly unknown, and exogamy casual, certainly not for the express purpose of maintaining social position. In a word marriage does not function to uphold social stratification nor do the northwestern rites appear.[332]

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[329] Dixon, Shasta, 261 f.

[330] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 146, 179.

[331] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 210, 254; Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo Society, 310; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 277.

[332] Compare Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 357, 456, 469, 493.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	-	◔	-					+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	◔	+	◔	-	◔	+	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3366. Back	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	836
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	826
3371. Thrown in river	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3372. Buried in gopher hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	◔	-	◔	◔	+	◔	◔	◔	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	-	-	-	-	◔	◔	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	-	-	+	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	◔	+	◔	+	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	+	-	◔	+	+	+	◔	+	+	◔	845
3379. Considered unlucky	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	-	-	-						◔	-	+	◔	.	◔	◔	.	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	.	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	
3383. Relative adopts 1	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	[597]
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	597
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
o3387. Childless couples given child by relatives	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	+	.	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally	+	+	+	-	+	◔	+	◔	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	-	-	◔						◔	◔	-	-	-	◔	◔	◔	848
3391. To avert disaster	-	-	+						+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	-	-	+						◔	◔	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	-	-	+						◔	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3395. Infant smothered	-	-	◔						◔	◔	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	-	.	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	-	-	-	+	-	◔	-	-	-	-	.	+	.	+	+	-	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	-	-	+	+	.	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	◔	◔	-	-	-	+	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle													-	-	◔	.	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
587 3975. New husband pays widow's parents-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	•+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
•3976. New husband asks widow's parents-in-law consent	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	.	+	-	.	-
•3977. New husband pays widow's sister-in-law	-	-	-	-		•+	+	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-
3978. New husband pays, gives gifts to widow's family	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	+
3979. Remarriage of widows rare, if husband good man	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3980. Divorcee's former husband paid by new husband	-	-	-	•-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 3981. Man sells wife to male bidder	•+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3982. New husband pays divorcee's parents	-	-	+	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3983. New husband asks divorcee's parents	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intercourse																
833 3984. Bride scratches at 1st intercourse	-	-	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	-	.	.	•+	.	.	.
3985. Natural position lying on side	.		+										•+			
3986. Kissing unknown	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
[152] [192] 3987. Exclamation of endearment for adults, children	+	+	-		+	•+	•+	+	+	+	.	-	+	+	-	-
3988. Virginity tests	.	.	•-				•+	•+	-	.	.	.	-	.	.	.
Promiscuity																
836 3989. Promiscuity any time	•-	-	+	+	-		+	+	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	-
3990. At dances chiefly	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	•+	-	.	+	-	-	+	-
3991. Promiscuity denied by informant	•-	-	•-	-	•+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3992. Unchaste unmarried girl beaten, shaken, scolded	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
836 3993. Unmarried pregnant girl scolded, beaten		+	+			+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
848 3994. Father of bastard punished	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
3995. Killed by girl's relatives														+	+	-
3996. Obligated to marry girl	•+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3997. Might marry girl, not obligated	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	•+	-	+	-	-	-	-
3998. Payment for girl	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transvestites																
Male																
838 3999. Male transvestites affirmed for group	+	•-	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•-	-	-	•-	.	•-
4000. Sweat with women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4001. Perform women's work	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4002. Wear women's clothes	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4003. Live with normal man	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4004. Special functions at funerals	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
[756] 4005. Some are shamans	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	(+)	-	-	.	-
4006. Nursing in war		-	-			-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4007. Regarded indifferently by community	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	.	-
•4008. Turn berdache at puberty, prepuberty	-		+			(+)		+	+	+	-	.	-	-	.	-
[587] 4009. Turn berdache postpuberty, later in life	+	-	-		+	•+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
4010. Act upon dream	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	-
Female																
•4011. Female transvestites affirmed for group	+	-	+	-	•+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012. Live with woman	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012a. Live with man			-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
4012b. Wear woman's clothes	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
[756] 4013. Some are shamans	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-

DDD 3372. WT: Teeth put in hole, child says to animal, "Let's trade teeth; I want good sharp ones like yours," and then jumps over hole. Or trades teeth with trout, and says same formula, but puts teeth in river. WS, MM: Child jumps over hole. NF, NM, NS: All first teeth disposed of thus.

3373. At, AW: Child's excrement; WM: Old person's.

3374. SW: So second or permanent teeth will grow steadily, like grass.

3377. NF, MV: Tell animal, "You give me all good teeth." NS: Bury tooth, and ask gopher for his old tooth, telling him they will give him a new one [the baby tooth] in exchange.

3378. WM: Twins (womas, pretty) feared; "they make a woman sick, pain her before she births them; she may die." NF, MV: Informants had never heard of any cases of twins occurring in groups.

3380. WM, MF, NM, NS: Never eat "twin" wild plums, double acorns, etc. WM: Tell young girls never to talk about twins. Also warn young girls against eating double, triple, etc., acorns "that are all bunched together on 1 stem. If a girl does eat 2 or 3 such acorns off 1 stem, she must point with each of the acorns in a different direction, and say, 'I'll have a child over there [pointing E for example]; next time I'll have a child over there [pointing W]; next time over there [pointing N], etc., so that she won't have 2, 3, 4 children all at 1 time, bunched up together."

Infanticide, illegitimate children; impregnatives, contraceptives, abortion.--

3389. AW: "Anything they raise [give birth to] they keep." WT: Bastard called a "road baby." They "worship that little thing more than an ordinary baby; everyone gives it things, because they all feel sorry for it."

3390. SE, WM, WS: Child killed occasionally, if mother had dreamt bad dreams while confined, and violent storm ensues at time of childbirth. Rare. Denied for all other groups. SE, WM, NM, NS: Infant buried alive with mother, if latter dies in childbirth. Burial alive denied for K1, Mo, WS, MM, NF. Informant for NF remarked infant, deprived of mother, usually died after about 3 weeks. MV: Try to save child; hire nurse if possible.

[847] [848]

3392. WS: If mother dies, but infant lives, "another woman, anyone who wants to keep that baby" [need not be relative] drinks 3-4 cupfuls of boiled wild grapevine roots, stem, leaves. In about 1 day after drinking this and massaging breasts, the milk begins to flow and woman can nurse baby she has taken. In winter dry vine and roots effective for this purpose. "An old woman, 60-70 years old, did this for her grandchild, and raised that boy. His mother had died when he was 1 month old."

3393. WM: "Charley Klutchie's father raised him; his mother died at childbirth and the people

936 well after she married; advised her to take such for husband. Youths never went round for women [178] by themselves, formerly; both girls and youths adhered to marriage rules. SE: Admitted, but said OOO to have been very rare, however. 2 women usually accompanied girl whenever she went anywhere "in order to see that men didn't bother her." At: Mother kept girl beside her during night at fiestas (see also note 3960).

[836] [848] 3996. Kl: Must marry girl; youth's parents tell him, "Get that baby back." Youth gets girl, without paying anything for her.

3997. WS: "Very few did marry the girl."

Transvestites

[838] 3999. Mo, MM, MV: Known by informants to exist among such tribes as "Pit River" (Achomawi) and Kl, but denied positively for informants' own groups. SW: Informant himself had many traits of transvestite, although he dressed in men's clothes; most of elements listed positively below for SW are entered from volunteered data and observation of facts rather than as result of direct questioning. At: Referred to as ya'wa'. MM: "In early days didn't have any [transvestites]"; informant knew of only 2 hermaphrodites (?), a Mexican at Auburn and a half-breed woman.

4008. "Because born that way."

4009. AW: Informant for At stated, "1 Pit River (Achomawi) woman, after she'd had children, dreamt to be like that."

[838] 4011. See note 3999. At: Referred to as brumaiwi. Wear false penis (?), made of pitch, pended from belt.

Death

Treatment of corpse.--

[764] 4021. Kl: Body laid on pyre immediately, left lying there overnight; early next morning burned.

4025. Mo: Shamans only. WM: Painted red. Sun dogs considered sign of shaman's death, "because paint dead red." Red clouds presage death of someone.

4027. MF, NF, MM, NS, MV: Yellowhammer-quill band also laid with body. MF, NS: Also basket cut, so it will lie flat like plaque on top of chest; this buried with body. Cut basket on body lacking among MM, MV; dubious for NF.

4028. WT: Elkhide article of great value; chief wrapped in such, and grave "almost filled with shell currency and other valuables. Many visitors come from distance and bring world of things to put in chief's grave." WM: "Other groups [of Wintu] wrap body in bearskin cloak"; WM do not, except in rare instances where head, claws cut off old bearskin, and latter put in grave. New skin never treated thus. MV: Wrap wealthy in bearskin.

4030. NF: Also children up to 2-3 years old buried on their cradle.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*657 *648 563 167

tunities of the reservation. As they moved away, they extended Indian experience into the midst of frontier society. During the allotment period they in turn enlarged reservation perspectives.

*657 *648 563 162

The majority of the interbreed children that appeared upon the early reservation, then, were the product of temporary or unstable unions and appeared as fatherless children. The annual reports are unrealistic as to their number. In 1885, for example, it was claimed that there were only 12 interbreeds in the total population of 919,[9] although to judge from later censuses, the number must have been several times as great.

*657 *648 563 [144] [848] [602]

One of the long-range results of this intercourse was to reduce somewhat the difference in physical appearance that separated the Indians from the surrounding population. Another—and more immediate—consequence, however, was to raise the divisive issue of illegitimacy among the Indians themselves and to introduce into the tribal body individuals who could claim only maternal kinsmen. Thus, one Klamath recalls his father, a stage driver in Klamath Falls, as a drunkard whom his mother finally left. The family returned to his maternal grandparents, in whose care the boy grew up. His mother subsequently married a man who ran a logging camp at Pelican Bay, a hard worker and good hunter who treated the boy well. Nonetheless, throughout his life he bore an animus against his father and in part against the heritage he represented.[10]

*657 *648 563 162 [915]

Interracial unions were encouraged, not only by a dearth of white women but by an early preponderance of women among the Klamath and by regulations which put an end to polygamy. The early imbalance between the sexes was striking. The figures supplied by Captain Kelly for the adult Klamath in 1864 give a sex ratio of no more than 0.47.[11] Those for the Link River band two years later areonly a little higher for the adults, 0.52, although the overall figure is 0.64, since boys and girls are in approximate balance.[12]

[164] [847]

Neither sex-linked disease nor the practice of selective infanticide is known to have occurred among the Klamath, and the most probable explanation must be sought among such factors as differential exposure to rigorous training, warfare, and vicissitudes of the food quest, as well as to possible emigration of single men. O. C. Applegate, the only Agent to comment upon the im-

[p. 342A]

(ca. 1875)

867 terms for all his relatives, whether he has seen them yet or not. This is considered one of the most important things a child must learn.[8]

With the knowledge of kinship terms the child acquires certain attitudes toward his relatives, although patterns of behavior toward particular kin do not seem to be very clearly [593] defined among the Klamath. Parents are re- [603] spected and obeyed, as are grandparents though a certain amount of indulgence and teasing is to [604] be expected from the latter. Uncles and aunts are shown considerable respect. Cousins call [605] each other by sibling terms; those of opposite sex play together freely when small but are told that it is not proper to "play rough" with each other. Even small children learn that marriage between cousins is "a very bad thing," and that children from such an incestuous union will never live.

856 There is some effort to teach the child the names of objects by pointing to them and repeating the word, but he probably acquires more of his vocabulary simply by listening to adult conversation. There is no baby talk or any attempt to simplify words for the children. If the child mispronounces or misuses words, he is laughed at and corrected.

553 Children acquire their personal names in a casual manner at any time from birth to the age of five or six. There is no ceremony connected with naming, and some individuals receive two or three names which may all be in use at the same time. Names are, for the most part, of the nickname variety and refer to some personal mannerism or peculiarity.[9] In addition, some refer to spirits, birds, or animals. Names are given by the parents or other relatives. One person

[text continues on top of p. 342-B]

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 By the time a child is three he begins to play with other children, parents encouraging group play. Children from all social strata play together. "After all, you can't keep kids apart." Children of chiefs or shamans are no [848] different from the rest. Illegitimate children are looked down upon by the community as a whole, but they are not segregated from their age-mates.

[865] At first the youngsters are apt to start fights with each other, but the parents are usually on hand to stop rough play. A child who fights all the time brings disgrace to his family and especially to himself. He must play by himself for awhile. "Everyone knows he has been bad; no one likes him." He is ashamed and experiences great remorse when he is told he cannot play with other children.

Three- and four-year-olds find a variety of

[text continues on bottom of p. 342-B]

[8] See Spier, pp. 62-68, for a discussion of the Klamath kinship system.

[9] Naming customs and typical names are given by Spier, pp. 59-61, and Voegelin, elements 3306-3321.

Probably one-third of all Klamath women have borne at least one child out of wedlock. At the same time, there is considerable out-marriage, and while Klamath and local White unions are not frequent, numerous tribal members have married off the reservation, to Whites, to other Indians, and to other ethnic groups. With regard to common-law marriage, one occasionally hears a Klamath protest that such an unsanctioned union constitutes "Indian-style" marriage, but all evidence leads to the interpretation that the style is Twentieth century, not aboriginal.

Klamath family relationships are by no means limited to the household group, but are sometimes extended to other consanguinal and affinal kin. Occasionally there is sufficient integration and stability in these relationships to require notation of the existence of an extended family, but in all cases the bonds are extremely loose, and the extended group is rarely a residential unit, which aboriginal Klamath extended families were. These are, thusly, de facto groupings rather than de jure. They arise out of special needs and do not have sufficient status to involve prescribed behaviors. One of the striking cultural losses is the organization of the co-residential extended family as an agent of social control.

Generally, all kinship bonds are loose or permissive. Although the organization of nuclear families is tighter, frequently these groupings, too, are not co-residential units. All such kin groups are marked by the absence of obligatory responsibilities. Perhaps the household group is best represented as the nearest collectivity to which an individual may turn when in need, with the loose, extended group standing as the next nearest such collectivity. But there are other groupings with similar functions, friendship networks, adolescent peer groups, drinking cliques, and similar bonds in specialized role relationships with local merchants, some of whom act as bankers, brokers, and bondsmen to their own clientele.

Within the total kin network, perhaps the strongest, the most durable, and the most influential ties are those between siblings, and between grandparents and grandchildren. In some measure this reflects the structuring of the domestic group. There the influence of the principal male is weak. The husband-father frequently does not work, he may rarely be at home, and he seldom acts as a disciplinarian. Whether or not there is a male attached to the household group, the wife-mother is usually the power figure. The character of domestic relationships is suggested by the fact that several households, admittedly extreme cases, had kitchen shelves which were partitioned off by individual ownership of the foodstuffs each section contained, so much here belonging to Father, that section being Mother's, and this over here the Son's. Thus even with regard to the canned goods needed for daily meals, there was no family property. Quite clearly, family organization is marked by extreme individuation.

One important antecedent of the character of these family bonds has been the constant flow of per capita payments to all and sundry, to the most stable and industrious and to the most delinquent. Controls over the expenditure of children's funds by parents has been one important feature of these payments, which although designed to prevent misuse of funds, have also acted so as to make children more independent of family authority. Klamath children not only come to feel that they are economically independent, but they feel that the source of the funds is inexhaustible, and they flaunt their position in their parent's faces. Additionally, the frequent absence of a stable male identification figure within the family circle, a male tied to a job by value and need, has thrown the burden of domestic responsibility upon Klamath women. This is a serious source of strain in household groups.

Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

156 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is
*159 specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a
(818) more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This com-
[582] munity evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

(626) Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the
*159 reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She
(464) found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate.

[874] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her
*159 husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache
593 Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American. Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an inseparable pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a considerable shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain
[155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evi-
[626] dently was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends, and from the community.

*159 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should
[124] cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the con-
[123] viction that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but involved a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his chil-
[593] dren. Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily, with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good, perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk with someone.

*159 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her
157 reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question. Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

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Fidel: Male, Age 19

Background Data

*159 156 Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never [461] worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen. [891] Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from [592] the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger sib- [434] lings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal [657] income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very [582] reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit [618] Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging [221] company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household [593] affairs. In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this per- [848] son is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity, *159 which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. Fidel's 156 relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards 593 most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting, and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls, and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

[421] Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his belongings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom she spends much time.

*159 Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks 156 of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the [673] law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time [512] loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.